2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tá." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

831 191 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 191 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guarani*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and

764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate.

765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

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824 /173 cont./ element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

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[476]
[831] When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

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[22] The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man
[44] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season.
[356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

4: Mono--258 M-3 (1909-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/188 cont./

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replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal: the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

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[331]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha pihe, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mbeivera (1).

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1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grew, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

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[191]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text Continues on P. 260]

/202 cont./

the second Chiriguano man and the second Chiriguano woman: I have even made use of this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

/The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families. They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things: instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

There does not seem to be any other race like the Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

6: Nordenskiöld--65 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF8

Ee 581

/212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Ee 582

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

Ee [171]

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Matacc.

Ee 595

Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

C [643]

Ee [586]

Ee 582

Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

C 577 177 797 831

/214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

C [837]

C 577 831 175

The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

/214 cont./

577 entirely untouched by the civilization of the whites, an opinion
831 which I shall reproduce here verbatim:
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"Ce qui m'a fort surpris, c'est que dans la licence où ils vivent, je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'il échappat à aucun homme la moindre action indécente à l'egard des femmes, et jamais je n'ai oui sortir de leur bouche aucune parole tant soit peu déshonnête

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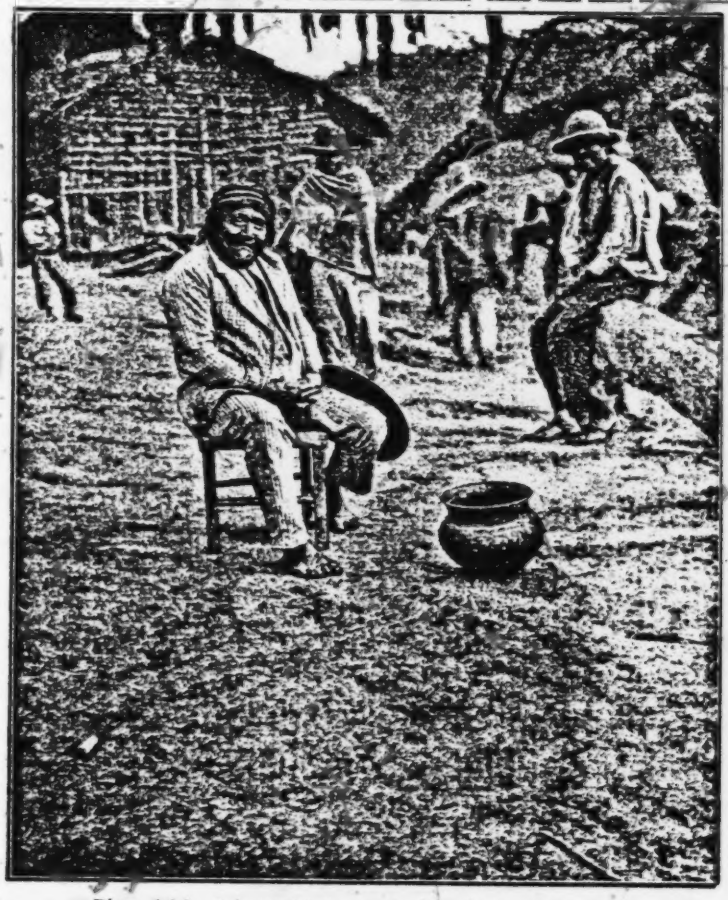

Fig. 111. The Chiriguano chief Mandepora.

577 /What surprised me very much is that in the freedom in which
831 they live I never noticed the slightest indecent behavior on the
175 part of any man with regard to women, and never did I hear from their lips any word that was the least bit immodest/."

Ee 834 171

/221 cont./

K. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. K. v. d. Steinen: op. cit., p. 25.

C Ce [113]

2. Koch-Grünberg: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern (Two Years among the Indians), Berlin, 1909/.

out that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and Rio Negro speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

Ee [124]

C Ce 195 834 838

There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Choroti are "ametché," which is an abusive word, "ictivähi," which designates homosexual intercourse, "huéle," which means onanism, and "tévi" among the Chané /222/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as ictivähi. Here, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

C 834 838

There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Parapiti. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When

C [124]

I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

Ce 538 831 [551]

Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bóyra, he who had the abusive name yúruhuasu, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bóyra enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Batirayu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Yambási was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

Ce [115]

C [538]

● [831]

Ee 831 Ee 838

/227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ee 622 643 [111]

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuáyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Ee 643 Ee 622

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yattira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

293 643 [301] [302]

Ee Ca 622 555 643

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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[844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [931] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with [171] a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (15).